

Fact Sheet

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August 1964

19th Anniversary "Commemorations" of
Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombings

This year's commemorations of the 1945 US atomic bombings of Hiroshima (August 6) and Nagasaki (August 9) once again provided a mirror for the Sino-Soviet dispute and its reverberations within the left-wing Japanese peace movement. Three separately sponsored conferences were held in Japan during the period from 30 July to 9 August, as follows:

- (1) The major gathering was the 10th Annual World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs:

sponsored by Gensuikyo (Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs);

endorsed by the pro-Peking Japanese Communist party (JCP);

international session held in Tokyo, 30 July - 2 August, attended by approximately 150 delegates from 59 foreign countries and five international Communist front organizations including the World Peace Council;

national meetings (plenary sessions, rallies, memorial services) held consecutively in Kyoto, Osaka, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 3 - 9 August, without the Soviet delegation and 26 other foreign delegations and the representatives of three world peace bodies including the WPC (nearly a half of those who initially appeared in Tokyo) which walked out of the international session on 31 July;

Japanese participation throughout the series of rallies estimated between 20,000 to 40,000, varying with each change in site;

immediately preceded by Chicom-dominated consultative meetings, and during June and July by JCP organized "one-hundred thousand-man meetings" in Tokyo and about a hundred other smaller meetings in various parts of the city.

- (2) The key competing confab was the World Conference Against Nuclear Armaments:

sponsored by Hibaku Sankenren (Liaison council for Three-Atom-Bombed prefectures), also known as Gensuikin (Liaison Council for Protection of the Anti-Bomb movement);

endorsed by the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan), the Socialist Youth League and the socialist Japan Women's Council (The JSP and Sohyo both walked out of the 1963 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, subsequently withdrawing from Gensuikin's own peace movement);

international conference, held in Hiroshima, 3 - 5 August; plenary meeting and peace memorial services in Hiroshima, 5 - 7 August; peace memorial and final rally in Nagasaki, 9 August -- attended by more than 40,000 Japanese and delegates from 23 foreign countries and eight international organizations -- notable among these was a large 22-man Soviet delegation. Chicom representation was conspicuously absent.

- (3) The third and subordinate conference this year was the Fourth Rally of the People's Congress for Banning Nuclear Weapons and the Establishment of Peace (Kakkin Kaigi) held in Hiroshima, 1 - 2 August:

sponsored by the Kakkin Kaigi which was formed by the Democratic Socialist Party because they objected to Gensuikyo's policy of condemning nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. and the U.K. while justifying those of the Soviet Union.

The issue over which Gensuikyo has been split is whether or not to condemn nuclear weapons of every power. In September 1961 the Soviets broke the nuclear test moratorium. The JSP opposed such action while the JCP, preferring to denounce only American tests, remained loyal to Moscow. The 8th World Conference in 1962 failed to adopt a resolution opposing nuclear tests by every power and left the forces within Gensuikyo divided. The July 1963 signing of the tri-partite (US, UK, USSR) nuclear test ban treaty triggered public controversy between the Soviet and Chicoms delegates attending the 9th World Conference in August 1963. The JCP found itself aligned with the Chicoms who stuck to the "old" line. The JSP withdrew protesting that quarrels within the communist world were not germane to the peace conference. Since last year differences between the JSP and JCP, factions have hardened so that this summer the JSP, with strong Soviet backing, staged its own world conference.

The Soviets came to Japan to participate in both major conferences, apparently prepared to mend fences and at least to maintain contact with all factions. The Chicoms on the other hand seemed bent on finalizing the split within the Japanese peace movement and isolating the Soviet Union from the JCP-dominated Gensuikyo by effecting the exclusion of the Soviets from the 10th World Conference.

During consultative sessions prior to the opening of the JCP-sponsored gathering the Chicoms succeeded in pushing through certain rules that established their control. Any delegate wishing to address the conference would be required to submit his remarks 48 hours in advance. More important, a delegate who also attended the JSP conference would not be eligible for membership on a Conference committee. TASS coverage from 29 July and the head of the Soviet delegation, Georgi Zhukov, (at a press conference on 1 August) accused the Chicoms, who opened the conference a day early (originally scheduled to open 31 July), of filling the key committees with their "agents and stooges" from bogus delegations -- "persons imported from Peking"; of slandering the Soviet delegation and working to "split" the peace movement. The Soviets suggest that after the 31 July walkout the 10th World Conference degenerated into a "traveling Peking puppet show."

TASS contrasts the Chicom-manipulated show with the "representative and democratic" JSP-backed meeting. Soviet coverage also attempts to refute or at least play down Chicom charges that Soviet participation in the latter conference is evidence of "splitting" tactics on the Soviet side. TASS reporting on the 3 August proceedings claims "a discordant note was struck in the statement by the American Homer Jack.* He tried to present matters as if a new movement were being created here in Hiroshima." Peking generally ignored activities at this gathering but did focus on its "schismatic" character by decrying Soviet attendance which helped to place the JSP-sponsored rally on a par with the traditional anti- A and H Bomb Conference.

Peking devoted a considerable volume of propaganda to reporting its successes at the JCP-sponsored rally and favorable reaction in the foreign press. Greetings to the Conference from Chou En-lai, Ho Chi Minh, the JCP, and other Peking camp followers were replayed. Support emanating during the conference from delegates such as the Australians was also carried. The Peking position was set forth in Tokyo by Liu Ning-i, the head of the Chicom delegation. He attacked US imperialism and labelled the test ban treaty and the decision to curtail the production of fissionable materials as "frauds." Throughout the conference the attack against imperialism was focused on the US, particularly U.S. activities in South Vietnam, and specifically U.S. retaliatory action against North Vietnam (DRV) which occurred while the Conference was in progress. It was therefore appropriate that the DRV delegate, Nguyen Thanh Li, presented a document entitled "Firmly Support the Struggle of All the Peoples" -- one illustration of how the peace movement was rendered subordinate to the struggle for national liberation.

Resolutions at the close of the conference maintained the already established focus. Also issued were the usual string of appeals for:

- a. Unity and solidarity of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs under the banner of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs.
- b. Strengthening united action for the prevention of nuclear war and the total banning of nuclear weapons.
- c. Strengthening the struggle for the withdrawal of nuclear missile bases on Okinawa.
- d. The return of Okinawa to Japan.
- e. Promotion of the relief movement for the atom bomb victims and the strengthening of their organization.

In contrast, the JSP-backed gathering, while also reacting to the armed clash in Southeast Asia and condemning US actions there, stressed that

"Our most urgent task is to overcome atomic and hydrogen bombs, which are the enemy of mankind. This is the inalienable right of all human beings. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle is

closely connected with a struggle for peace. We demand a complete ban on nuclear testing, a ban on nuclear weapons, and complete withdrawal of military bases and independence of all countries."

(Tokyo Kyodo, 5 August 1964)

As this year's rallies and certain questions can be posed:

- (1) Will the Japanese government want the conferences and the mass rallies in Japan next year since they have become more blatantly political in tone with each successive year?
- (2) Has, as G. Zhukov suggested upon his departure from Japan, "the Gensuikyo leadership now...shifted from Dr. Kaoru Yasui and others to the small group of Masaharu Hatanaka, Yoshitaro Hirano, and their followers."? This would mean firmer control by the pro-Chicom JCP.
- (3) Will the Soviets now concentrate their efforts in the peace field in Japan in Gensuiren?